

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /015 R

66011

DRAFTED BY IO/UNA:JFTEFFT

APPROVED BY IO/UNA:JFTEFFT

-----060073 142148Z /73

O 142030Z JUN 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 7510

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 151184

FOL RPT KINSHASA 6192 SENT ACTION SECSTATE BRUSSELS & PARIS
INFO BONN & LONDON DTD 13 JUN 78

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I
A L KINSHASA 6192

DEPT PASS AF DEP ASST SEC HARROP

BRUSSELS PASS AF DEP ASST SEC WALKER

PARIS PASS SECDEL TARNOFF

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EFIN, EAID, CG

SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO GOZ ON REFORMS

REF: STATE 149302 (NOTAL)

1. I BELIEVE EVENTS SINCE JUNE 5 PARIS MEETING MAKE CLEAR THAT
THE FRENCH REMAIN THE CHIEF OBSTACLE TO OUR PROCEEDING WITH
A JOINT DEMARCHE TO MOBUTU. FRENCH AMBASSADOR ROSS STILL CLAIMS
HE HAS NOT RECEIVED A SINGLE INSTRUCTION FROM PARIS TO PARTICIPATE
IN OUR PREPARATORY EFFORTS HERE. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT HE IS
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ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO APPROACHING MOBUTU IN THIS FASHION AND THAT
HE WILL CONTINUE TO RECOMMEND TO PARIS THAT THE GOF NOT JOIN US
IN DOING SO. AS I HAVE STATED BEFORE, TO GET THIS OFF THE GROUND
WE WILL HAVE TO PUSH THE FRENCH VERY HARD AT A HIGH LEVEL; HOPEFULLY
THE SECRETARY WILL SUCCEED IN DOING SO AT THE JUNE 14 QUADRIPARTITE
MEETING.

2. LAST NIGHT AT DINNER FOR EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOUTROS GHALI I HAD OCCASION TO VERIFY DIRECTLY WITH THE MOROCCAN AMBASSADOR HIS DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE FIVE MAKING A DEMARCHE AT THIS TIME. HE REPEATED WHAT HE HAD PREVIOUSLY SAID TO ROSS: THAT, WHILE SHARING OUR DETERMINATION TO SEE REFORM, HE FEARED A DIRECT, COLLECTIVE APPROACH TO MOBUTU NOW WOULD RISK A POLITICAL EXPLOSION JUST AS MOROCCAN TROOPS ARE MOVING INTO SHABA. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION, GHALI'S CABINET CHIEF MADE SIMILAR PITCH, URGING THAT MOBUTU BE GIVEN AT LEAST A FEW WEEKS TO "REGAIN HIS BREATH" BEFORE DONORS MOVE IN ON HIM WITH NEW DEMANDS.

3. AS FOR MOBUTU HIMSELF, HE REMAINS IN GBADOLITE AND GOZ HAS SENT A NOTE TO ALL EMBASSIES STATING THAT ALL MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT ARE SUSPENDED JUNE 10-16, DURING WHICH PERIOD, AND ONLY ON EXCEPTIONAL BASIS, THESE MEETINGS WILL BE HANDLED BY FIRST COMMISSIONER MPINGA. THIS IS UNUSUAL PROCEDURE, AND I BELIEVE ONE OF MAIN PURPOSES IS TO HEAD OFF JOINT DEMARCHE. OF COURSE, THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THAT PARIS FIVE REPS WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO FLY UP TO GBADOLITE AND MAKE THEIR PITCH. (NOTEWORTHY, IN THIS CONNECTION, THAT EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, BEARING PERSONAL LETTER FROM SADAT, WAS AT LAST MINUTE ALLOWED TO VISIT PRESIDENT TODAY.) BUT IT DOES LOOK UNLIKELY THAT WE COULD GAIN ACCESS BEFORE NEXT SATURDAY AT THE EARLIEST.

4. I HAVE BEEN DOING MY BEST TO KEEP MY COLLEAGUES' ATTENTION FOCUSED ON THE IDEA OF A JOINT DEMARCHE TO MOBUTU, ALTHOUGH CONFIDENTIAL

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IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IN ADDITION TO ROSS THE OTHERS HAVE SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS AND POSSIBLE ADVERSE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THIS COURSE OF ACTION. IF, AS SEEMS LIKELY, THE FRENCH CONTINUE TO HANG TOUGH, DEPARTMENT MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER FALLBACKS. BELOW ARE SEVERAL PROCEDURAL VARIATIONS ON HOW WE MIGHT APPROACH MOBUTU, LISTED IN ROUGHLY DESCENDING ORDER OF DESIRABILITY:

- A. STIFF AGREED MEMORANDUM, DELIVERED JOINTLY.
- B. MODIFIED (TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE OF FRENCH), AGREED MEMORANDUM DELIVERED JOINTLY.
- C. STIFF AGREED MEMORANDUM, DELIVERED ALONE BY FRENCH AMBASSADOR (AS DEAN) ON BEHALF OF PARIS FIVE.
- D. STIFF, IDENTICAL MEMORANDA DELIVERED SEPARATELY BY FIVE AMBASSADORS.
- E. MODIFIED, IDENTICAL MEMORANDA DELIVERED SEPARATELY BY FIVE AMBASSADORS.
- F. AGREED ORAL PRESENTATION, DELIVERED BY ONE OF FIVE AMBASSADORS (PRESUMABLY FRENCH) IN COMPANY OF OTHER FOUR.

5. AS I READ THE FRENCH POSITION, WHAT THEY REALLY WANT TO AVOID IS PHYSICALLY BEING PART OF A GROUP APPROACH TO MOBUTU, BOTH BECAUSE THEY PREFER TO DO THIS KIND OF BUSINESS BILATERALLY AND BECAUSE

THEY BELIEVE MOBUTU DOES TOO. WHILE OPTIONS A AND B MIGHT BE MOST DESIRABLE FOR US, OPTIONS C, D AND E MAY PROVE TO BE MOST NEGOTIABLE FROM STANDPOINT OF SATISFYING BOTH FRENCH DEMANDS AND OUR MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS. OPTION F WOULD SEEM TO FALL BELOW THOSE REQUIREMENTS. ALL OF ABOVE OPTIONS WOULD ENTAIL LETTERS FROM CHIEFS OF STATE ENDORSING SUBSTANCE OF MEMORANDUM, DELIVERED FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF MEMORANDUM. CUTLER UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DEMARCHE, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE151184
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JFTEFFT
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780249-0181
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780659/aaaabyuo.tel
Line Count: 123
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 7778e888-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 149302
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2349301
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DEMARCHE TO GOZ ON REFORMS
TAGS: EFIN, EAID, CG, FR
To: USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/7778e888-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014